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SCHOOL EXCLUSION AND BLACK MALE PUPILS IN ENGLAND: A REFLECTION ON POSSIBLE CAUSES

INTRODUCTION

This article will be specially focused on Black¹ adolescent males, who reside in Britain and demonstrate behaviours that British society has deemed to be deviant or anti-social; therefore socially unacceptable. Consequently, a disproportionate number of black males are continuously being permanently excluded from mainstream secondary education.

Black male pupils can be ostracized in the education system due to their perceived deficiency in cultural capital, thus inhibiting these pupils to negotiate acceptable methods of communication with the professionals within education. Often these pupils are negatively labelled as deviant or academically inferior.

Black males are twice as likely to be excluded from school, than their white counterparts (Teachernet 2006). They may exhibit what is deemed to be "challenging behaviour" or "deviant behaviour" by the educational professionals.

Is school exclusion a symptom of modern life or is it specifically related to one of the following: masculinities, experience of being black, family origins, the prestige of being excluded, the influence the media has on adolescents, whether exclusion is a product of stereotyping and finally considering if Britain is still experiencing institutional racism?

To develop an adequate explanation of the behaviour of an individual deliberation should be given to the individual's wider environment; thus, reflecting on the psychological concepts such as reinforcement and attitudes and the sociological concepts such as gender, socio-economic structure and culture. Some of these influences are specific to Black boys' experiences, such as history, stereotypes, labelling, sub-culture, Institutional racism and black masculinity.

Other influences such as socio-economic structure, breakdown of family, media and Social Learning Theory can affect a larger proportion of British population. All of these abstract factors can play a key role in behaviour

¹ The British Sociological Association (2006) considered that it is proving very difficult to categorize individuals by race and ethnicity. Currently there is no universal definition, which can be accepted on a national basis, as the terminology and classification are continuously changing subject to political climate. At times classification of individuals or the appropriateness of such a label can instigate a debate or ambiguity. The terminology that will be used to define the group of males referred to in this article will be "Black".

and the understanding of behaviour.

EXCLUSION AND INEQUALITIES IN BRITISH SCHOOLS

Post 1990 England's education system has been linked with market forces. By encouraging parents to believe they to be consumers, schools have little or no option but to be competitive. Schools have been required to promote their status by maintaining high standards identifiable within the league tables. This shift in education has seen a rise in pupils attaining good passes at GCSEs and A levels (McKenzie 2001).

Teachers are placed in a precarious position, having to force children through the system. Adhering to the curriculum and maximizing results can require streaming young individuals into varying ability sets, consequently placing less able students into lower sets with less expectation or just simply excluding individuals. This experience now creates an impersonal and negative experience for many pupils.

Exclusion is not a new notion, as previously young individuals had been expelled or suspended from secondary education for inappropriate behaviour. Ever since the term "exclusion" was introduced in the 1986 Education Act, exclusion has developed into a significant measure of education and social problems within our society.

Originally in 1986 when the Act was inaugurated there were three types of exclusion; permanent, fixed term and indefinite. There was opposition to indefinite exclusion which resulted in a reform to the Education Act; hence the Act was amended in 1993.

There have been an increased number of young individuals that continued to be permanently excluded. Between the years 1995/96 and 1997/98 over 12,000 young individuals were subjected to permanent exclusion (Department of Education and Skills 2007).

MASCULINE CHARACTERISTICS

Gender can be seen as the socially and culturally constructed attributions, entailing the behaviours, roles and responsibilities that society expects of men and women. The term "sex" defines biological features that separate males from females. Individuals are either born male or female but are socialized from an early age how to behave within their gendered role, therefore positioning individuals in their expected niche within society. This encourages individuals to fulfil the expectation of the stereotypical roles, which determines how they are perceived by their society.

Gender relations are not predetermined or universal but can differ from society to society hence transforming over a period of time. For example, the stereotypical notion is that men are considered to be physically tough and strong. These are not fixed sex roles but gender roles, which are produced by the society in which we inhabit (World Health Organisation 2006).

Blair (2001) argued that there are a greater portion of Black males who are excluded from school, this equates to four times more than Black females. Blair considered there are two explanations for this; firstly this is a negative aspect to modern teaching, teachers have distinctive historical negative stereo typical assumptions for Black males such as Black males do not achieve academically but are fantastic sports men; whereas black females are deemed to be good scholars.

Mirza (1992) believed that Black females regard education as a necessity for their future working career. Mirza claimed that often Black females are the primary carers for their future offspring, as habitually these women have not got a male residing with them. Consequently their ability to be successful mothers and have life chances depends on their ability to be able to provide for their future dependants.

Secondly, Black males can react quite differently to females in certain situations. Although all males can behave in a confrontational manner, for Black males it seems to be exacerbated, due to their perception of historical events (Blair 2001). Mac an Ghaill (1994) implied that when Black males pride is challenged by an adult authority figure from any ethnic origin in school and it is evident to these Black males that they are not going to succeed in education, unlike their White peers. These Black males are going to take a more proactive approach, to preserve 'racial' identity. This is not to suggest that Black females are naturally more passive than Black males, but keep a low profile (Mac an Ghaill, 1994).

Within any institution such as schools there is the hierarchy of masculinity, the young boys endeavour to demonstrate their sense of power that is instilled in them from a very early age. Connell (2005) suggested that although establishing hierarchical status is a natural process within males the time span can vary from school to school. Thus in reality the hegemonic superiority over others remains the same and at times this maybe challenged through acts of violence or verbal abuse.

Cohen (1955) argued that a large number of boys from working class backgrounds were destined to fail within the education system. A resolution to this is the construction of a "counter framework" thus gaining these

males a sense of achievement and respect. For these males they often attain status within their gang, hence rejecting the negative label that has been bestowed on them by society at large.

ETHNICITY AND RACISM

Giddens (2004) defined ethnicity as the cultural norms and values of an individual's ethnic group. These individuals share a similar cultural identity which divides them from other ethnic groups.

After the Second World War Britain needed to be rebuilt and this was a mammoth task. In numerous industries and public services there were substantial labour shortages. In 1950-1960 the government recruited in excess of a million immigrants from former British Colonies such as the West Indies. The immigrants were enticed to work in various industries and the public sector such as London Transport, British Hotels and Restaurants Association and the National Health Service (Commission for Racial Equality 2007).

Racism has been prevalent in Britain, from the late 1950s early 1960s Britain had experienced extreme inequalities and racial tension, in the 1970s there was a noticeable increase in acts of racialism.

Connell (2005) argued that White males have historically held supremacy over Black males. Consequently for decades Black males have tried to gain status in areas such as sport adhering to the stereotypical notions of having attributes such as being tough or aggressive.

Power between both ethnicity and gender have always been unequal, this can be deemed to be due to the negative past experiences. In the gender hierarchy the hegemonic male is deemed to be white, educated, heterosexual and physically robust. White males are deemed to hold the power therefore able access all resources such as education (Connell 2005). Westwood (1990) argued a crucial factor of being a working class Black males, is to be "streetwise". Thus enabling these individuals to concentrate on the issues they are forced to confront daily, such as poverty racist violence and policing.

Black males who regard themselves to be "different" from the general population, maybe symbolically excluded through the marginalization of their histories, beliefs and cultures. This may lead these Black males to disaffection and underachievement.

FAMILY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

There are many environmental factors that have been associated with deviant behaviour, such as poverty, family size, broken homes and inadequate parenting. Various studies have established that poverty can be an observable variable in delinquency. Individuals living on a low income and residing in poor housing can highlight the beginning of delinquent behaviour.

There has been a substantial change in the family structure over the last forty years, in 1961 38% of families comprised of a mother, father and children, forty years later in 2001 the number had fallen to 23%, the figure for lone parents has tripled over this period from 2% to 6%. The number of unmarried mothers over this forty year span has been slowly increasing throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, rising from approximately 10% in 1975, in 2000 there was a substantial increase. The figure had quadrupled to a staggering 40% (O'Neill 2005).

Trasler (1978) argued that children from families with inadequate parental control can demonstrate deviant behaviour. The parents normally have little or no boundaries or routines in place, enabling the children to run riot. Habitually these children are unable to socialize therefore may be seen to pursue an alternative lifestyle frequently preferring to behave inappropriate and repeatedly turning to deviant acts and regularly socializing with other deviants.

It is not just Black families that experience adversity in Britain such as poverty, family size, broken homes and poor parenting and consequently encountering the production of deviant behaviour from their offspring. Deviant behaviour can be demonstrated in a number of settings, especially school where the added peer pressure can contribute to rebellion of the school ethos. As a result this can be the outcome of an increasing number of Black young people being excluded from schools.

SUB-CULTURES

Giddens (2004) defined a subculture as a group of individuals with distinctive behaviour and beliefs that differentiate them from a larger culture of which they inhabit. The attributes of a subculture may be defined by age, or race, ethnicity, class or gender. The qualities that determine a subculture may be visual, religious, political and sexual or a combination of these features.

Hollin (2000) suggested that social structural theorists believe that individuals from disadvantaged

economical backgrounds are a primary contribution to criminal behaviour; these individuals are normally from the lower social classes. One approach is the "cultural deviance theory", where deviant behaviour is deemed to be acceptable within one's own sub-culture. This theory insinuates that within the deviant sub-culture anti-social behaviour can be passed down through generations.

Black youths have constantly experienced hostility; therefore in response they have created a subculture. This gave the young individuals a sense of commonality in a racial and antagonistic environment.

Within the Black subculture music has always been a major influence; for example in the 1970's the Rastafarian became extremely popular to the marginalized young Black individuals. The 1970s also encountered the development of Hip Hop in urban communities. Early Hip Hop has been accredited with the reduction of gang violence in urban areas. Physical violence was replaced by Hip Hop battles. During the early 1990's with the surfacing of commercial and "Gangsta Rap" the reputation of non-violent culture has been eliminated (Osgerby 1998).

The Commission for Racial Equality (2006) considered that black males are more susceptible to negative peer pressure. Therefore this can manifest in these individuals trying to act "hard", by exhibiting inappropriate behaviour. Often these young individuals can reveal a negative attitude towards education. This anti-school culture and the negative peer pressure can be fuelled by the low status and negative image this group is bestowed within the educational setting. This can be reinforced by these Black males feeling that they are being subjected to institutional discrimination or at least institutional disadvantage and the incessant low expectations of the teachers.

Sewell disagreed that it is not that Black males are inhibited from achieving at school. On the contrary, he argues that it is peer pressure which is at the root of the dilemma. For those males who seem keen on succeeding in lessons and homework are labelled as "un-cool". Sewell considered that Black boys have been making it difficult for themselves. He continues that "Blackness" has developed into a concept of "what they cannot do", rather than "what they can do". Sewell continued that black males are afraid to succeed in education because they do not want to be deemed to be "acting white" or "selling out" (The Guardian 2004).

It is not just in Britain where Black males have been found to be under achieving. The University of the West Indies has an unequal divide. It was found that 70%

of the university population were female student perusing an academic career, whereas only 30% of the campus population were male students (University of the West Indies 2007).

The Commission for Racial Equality (2006) questioned whether the "challenging behaviour" that Black males exhibit is due to the lack of having a "positive male role model", as there is a high proportion of single parent families within this group. Therefore these individuals may often tend to veer to the vastly commercialised street culture where they command "respect" from their peers and a sense of identity.

Sewell also agreed that Black males are disadvantaged by often being in one parent families therefore not having masculine role models and a relationship with another male beyond their influential peer group. Sewell reinforced this notion that often these young males grow-up believing that education is for "geeks", whereas these young males want to aspire to the image of ultra-tough ghetto superstar, which is continually reinforced through rap lyrics and MTV videos (The Guardian, 2004).

According to the Commission for Racial Equality: Criminal Justice Statistics 2005) individuals from Black ethnic groups are more likely to be subjected to personal crimes such as muggings or violence. For this group the probabilities are eight times greater to be arrested as a consequence of being "stopped and searched" by the local constabulary. Six times as many blacks were expected to receive a "raw deal" by police and five times as many Black individuals within the judicial system than their White counterparts.

Like most working-class communities, those who have endured long-term poverty and inequalities can develop a counter-culture that seeks to offer validation where society and schools fail to do so.

MEDIA INFLUENCE

Individuals inhabiting contemporary western societies have a deluge of mass media on a variety diverse range subjects. Individuals can have access to satellite News Channels and Globe Internet 24 hours (Bilton et al 2002).

In the nineties television programmes were revolutionized, directors started to produce programmes that were multicultural and diverse. These programmes exhibited the social aspect of human life and mounting attention had begun on "celebrity" and "lifestyle". In ostensible reality television programmes such as channel

4 "Big Brother". Such programmes often cast individuals from diverse backgrounds, for example, Black or gay to give a cross-section of British society. Sarita Malik suggested that such programmes are intended to represent "real life" diversity (Commission for Racial Equality, 2006)

Harrower (2001) suggested that social learning theorists have found a probable cause for deviant behaviour is the constant reinforcement through the media. Throughout young individual daily lives there is a deluge of media hype, glamorizing the deviant lifestyles, thus, through the media there is continuous replication of alternative lifestyles. These young individuals are gradually being desensitizing into believing such behaviours are normal therefore acceptable.

The roles Black males are cast in the media have negative connotations as they are frequently portrayed as "gangster" or "drug dealers". Wallbott (1996) argued that there is no conclusive evidence to prove that there is any correlation between the two or any explanation why a small minority behave in such a manner whilst the majority of the population refrain from doing so.

Media draws on morals and social codes in order to expand on ideas that crimes are only acts in violation of laws. The media is frequently used to convey the notion that crime is a direct result of variables such as inequalities or poverty is associated with deviant behaviour. Individuals from a low socio-economic group or ethnic group are a recurrent theme of newspaper articles in apportioning culpability in this way, politicians are able to hide behind the headlines and draw attention away from the structural inequalities that exist (Bilton et al 2002).

For decades Black youths have been associated with negative headlines such as "Muggings: Paul Condon Blames Black Youths", this headline was aired on prime time television, on ITN's News At Five, on the 7 July, 1995, which referred to correspondence that was dispatched to Labour MP Paul Boateng. The Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police (Sir Paul Condon) was reported to have alleged that many muggings in London were committed by Black youths, consequently, this headline provoked a political debate (News Film Online 2007).

Headlines can create a moral panic within our society. Stanley Cohen (1980) study "Folk Devils and Moral Panics", observed the efforts made by the police to control the "Mods and the Rockers" in the 1960's, the situation was severely misjudged and caused a major dilemma for the police force. This encounter between the two groups was publicized and sensationalized by the media, hence making these two groups of youths incredibly popular to other young people. Thus the two sub-cultures

that were labelled as the "outsiders" or "deviant" by the general public, achieved a glamorized accolade by other young people. Consequently this situation led to a moral panic, which is an event such as youth crime or school exclusion that is over exaggerated by the media.

Not all young Black individuals are affected by the media, but it can be sometimes difficult to distinguish between what is actually reality and what is fiction, especially when these young individuals often have no positive male role models at home. Hence often peer pressure and the negative behaviour exhibited in the media can be duplicated at school. This enables these young black Males to live up to the stereotypical assumptions bestowed on them.

EXCLUSION AS A PRODUCT OF STEREOTYPING

Giddens (2004) suggested that stereotyping can be associated with prejudice which can be characterized by an attitude commonly held by one group about another. Consequently there is no factual basis and there is reluctance to change even when presented with new evidence. These prejudices are normally having a negative impact, thereby focusing on those who are different to the individual or group being judged.

Stereotypes are the static traits which can be bestowed on groups within society such as ethnic minorities, for example, Black males are unable to achieve in schools.

Mirza (1999) considered that Black masculinity is not a topic that is often contemplated in academic studies. The predominant discourse that is generally used is "race". When masculinity is reflected upon one is usually inclined to stereotype and homogenise. Within education there is some evidence that there is a negative assumption towards Black males and their ability to attain.

Becker (1963) developed a theory of labelling known as "social reaction theory". This theory permits the construction of specific groups to be labelled as "deviant". Becker also considered that individuals who are probable to participate in rule breaking behaviour are fundamentally different to individuals that are rule/law-making or rule-abiding citizens. Those individuals who are prone to rule-breaking behaviour see themselves as morally in conflict with those members of the rule-abiding society.

The terminology Becker uses to describe this label of rule-breaker or deviant is "outsider". By deviant individuals accepting their label that has been attached

to them, they are agreeing with conventional society that they are outwardly different to the righteous population. Deviants may consider themselves more "outside" than others with similar labels. Deviant "outsiders" might view those rule making or abiding members of society as being the "outsiders" of their social group.

Being labelled can have negative implications on individuals' lives. This can encourage individuals to be more involved with criminal offences and the sub-culture, therefore conforming to the negative label that is attached to them. Hence labelling can direct individuals to deviance amplification and the awareness of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Christian (2005) suggested that many Black male students are continually given negative labels such as "aggressive", "muggers" or "Drug Dealers" . For decades the Black male population have received unjust treatment and labels from the general population and police:

When I go out I have to remember that I'm a black youth. Other people see me black that. I have to be careful of what I do; say and how I behave because others are always judging me as a black youth. Not as a youth, but a black youth. If I'm out with my friends, we are not just seen as a group of friends, but as a black gang. Some people think when they see us; we will rob them or something. It gets you down sometimes, if you're black, you're not allowed to have a childhood, you know (p15).

Stereotyping or labelling can have catastrophic effects on young Black males in education. Labelling can direct individuals into deviant behaviour and the self-fulfilling prophecy.

REINFORCEMENT OF NEGATIVE ASSUMPTIONS IN INSTITUTIONS

There are many variables that create this system of tension between the student, teacher and educational policy. One criticism of the educational system is the "hidden curriculum" that is prevalent within the competitive school market place. This ensures that results are produced effectively by marginalising those who are less talented and nurturing the gifted.

Giroux (1989) considered that:

The hidden curriculum in schools works in a subtly discriminatory way to discredit the dreams, experiences and knowledge associated with students from specific class, race and gender groupings (p32).

Blair (2001) suggested that student teachers possibly learn that the hidden curriculum is the successful method of sifting pupils through the educational system; this is created by the structures and practices of schools within capitalist economy. For example streaming or setting pupils.

The publication of the "Macpherson Report" of the Stephen Lawrence inquiry in 1999 highlighted that institutional racism was prevalent within institutions in contemporary British society. Senior politicians have consequently acknowledged the ongoing "institutional racism" and have vowed to eradicate it. Government members identify that racism is one of the main facets that constrains citizenship rights of the ethnic minorities; therefore this prohibits egalitarianism within this group (Osler 2000).

Keddie (1984) suggested that teachers may unconsciously have preconceived ideas regarding class or culture group. This knowledge may have detrimental consequences, such as hindering the pupils learning in that type of environment. Cultural imaging of individuals is a common method of labelling; this can have serious repercussions on their educational attainment. Keddie also suggested that depending on individuals' cultural group can inhibit the quality and type of education one will receive. Oakes (1985) demonstrated that often pupils are placed in their set or stream on their class or ethnicity rather than their academic ability.

CONCLUSION

Underachievement for Black males is not a new concept; for decades these individuals have been subject to the assumption that there is a high probability that Black males will not succeed in education. There is no identifiable contributing factor which ascertains why a disproportionate number of Black males are excluded from school.

Historical stereotyping and labelling has had a negative impact on young Black males in education. There is some evidence to show that labelling has directed individuals into deviant behaviour through the self-fulfilling prophecy. Consequently within the school setting these young Black males experience very low self-esteem or self-worth.

There is some evidence that some institutional racism still remains in education. The pressures of teaching are overwhelming as teachers are continually evaluated on their results.

In summary, it can be argued that exclusion is a symptom of contemporary British society. As the factors discussed demonstrate this situation is exacerbated for young Black males. However exclusion is multifaceted and thus cannot be directly attributed to a single cause.

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PSYCHOLOGY IS NOW A SCIENCE SUBJECT - A GOOD THING?

INTRODUCTION

With the new specification for Advanced (A) Level (17-18 years) which began in September 2008 in the UK, psychology is now being officially recognised as a science for the first time by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA). So when university courses require students to have entry grades in three science A Levels, psychology can be one of those.

To show that psychology is a scientific subject, the principles of "How Science Works" are built into the syllabus. These principles (Box 1) are for teachers to emphasise throughout their teaching of the subject.

For some scientists, like biologists, who may have taught psychology, it is not such a leap to see psychology as a scientific subject. But those from other science backgrounds may be far from convinced, particularly as studying humans has been described as doing experiments using dirty test tubes.

The desire for psychology to be recognised as a scientific subject is not new. The British Psychological Society (BPS) (and the American Psychological Association in the USA) have always tried to emphasise this view, and present non-scientific versions of psychology as the minority in academia. In fact, throughout the history of psychology (roughly 130 years) most practitioners have viewed themselves as scientists, whether it is as "scientists" of their day (eg: Structuralists and Functionalists in the 19th century) or scientists as we know them today.

Certainly scientific or experimental psychology is the dominant form in North America and Europe with its aim of establishing "general laws about human social behaviour that will develop our knowledge and be of practical value for those working in applied areas" (Wetherell, McGhee and Stevens 1996 p8). While most textbooks define psychology with words like "the scientific study of human behaviour".

Historically, the studies that are most famous in psychology are experiments, like those of Stanley Milgram's in the 1960s on obedience to authority (Milgram 1974), and approaches based on scientific principles (eg: Behaviourism).

- A - Use theories, models and ideas to develop and modify scientific explanations.
- B - Use knowledge and understanding to pose scientific questions, define scientific problems, present scientific arguments and scientific ideas.
- C - Use appropriate methodology, including ICT, to answer scientific questions and solve scientific problems.
- D - Carry out experimental and investigative activities, including appropriate risk management in a range of contents.
- E - Analyse and interpret data to provide evidence, recognise correlations and causal relationships.
- F - Evaluate methodology, evidence and data, and resolve conflicting evidence.
- G - Appreciate the tentative nature of scientific knowledge.
- H - Communicate information and ideas in appropriate ways using appropriate terminology.
- I - Consider applications and implications of science and appreciate their associated benefits and risks.
- J - Consider ethical issues in the treatment of humans, other organisms and the environment.
- K - Appreciate the role of the science community in validating new knowledge and ensuring integrity.
- L - Appreciate the ways in which society uses science to inform

Box 1 - Principles of "How Science Works" (Assessment and Qualifications Alliance (2007) GCE AS and A Level Psychology B Specification).

ALTERNATIVES TO SCIENCE

So the idea of psychology as a scientific subject is seen as entirely normal for many psychologists. They have a greater affinity for the white coat and the science laboratory than for social science, for example. But psychology is a subject with debates and disagreements, and there are those who see little benefit for psychology as a science.

From the 1960s, in particular, those on the non-science side of the fence can be loosely called "critical" psychologists (though, technically, critical psychology is a specific perspective).

"Critical" psychologists would argue that scientific psychology dehumanises individuals, or that so much more can be learned about human behaviour by using non-scientific methods. Others may talk of different types of

"science" in psychology including "moral science" (which is "concerned not so much with describing what people do as with exploring what they could do") and "political science" (concerned with "uncovering power relations in what is assumed and taken for granted about human meanings"; Devalle 1996 p118).

Still others see science as a form of knowledge that has acquired special status (in Western society, in particular) rather than as truth. It is argued that "The consolidation of the experimental method could not have been achieved without the institutional power of university departments.. publishers and editors.. and funding bodies" (Hollway 2007b p50).

Traditional scientific research is based upon the philosophical principles of realism. This is the idea that there are underlying truths about human behaviour that can be discovered by the use of the scientific methods. These truths exist irrelevant of the researcher or the research situation.

The alternative view is that all knowledge is linked to its time and place, and is socially constructed (Gergen 1985). "The terms and forms by which we achieve a understanding of the world and ourselves are social artefacts, products of historically and culturally situated interchanges among people" (Gergen 1994 p49).

So rather than science being principles that are true in all situations and places, science can be viewed as a product of Western society and thinking.

Furthermore there is no such thing as neutral science:

Research questions are structured by personal and political interests that need to be explored rather than hidden away, for it is when they are concealed that they do the most damage (Banister et al 1994 p9).

Assuming that all knowledge is socially constructed can be problematic because such a position is associated with relativism: "The worry is that if there are no objective grounds for choosing between points of view, then 'anything goes'" (Wetherell and Still 1996 p103).

Bruner (1990) disagreed. For him, it is not whether an idea or theory is correct, but whether it is appropriate to believe that idea or theory. A more pragmatic view. Thus research is not meaningless because the absolute truth cannot be discovered, rather research is able to "do" many things including a political commitment to change for the better.

DEBATES AND METATHEORIES

With A Level psychology being accepted as a science by QCA it is recognition of the scientific principles within and behind much of psychology. But, for others, it is part of a continuing restriction of psychology under the guise of "physics envy" (Devalle 1996) or "natural science envy" (Henwood and Pidgeon 1992).

For psychology has debates at its core, like science versus non-science, which are generally not found in other science subjects. One such debate is cognitivism and mutualism.

The difference between experimental psychology and non-experimental approaches is more than just different psychological theories, they are much deeper. This means profound differences in the whole understanding of the world. The ideas have been called metatheories (Still 1996).

Experimental psychology is characterised by the metatheory of cognitivism. Meanings about the world are added to the brain of the individual who is distinct from the social world around them. In other words, individuals "construct meaning out of a meaningless physical environment" (Still 1996).

The world is made up of physical properties like light and sound which enter the senses, and the brain then places meaning upon them. The meaning that the brain makes of these stimuli is only a representation of the world that we have constructed individually. This is sometimes called "Representational Realism", and "although words get their immediate meaning by being linked with representations or mental constructions, these representations in time correspond to real entities in the outside world, even though they cannot be known directly" (Still 1996 p89).

An alternative metatheory is mutualism, which underpins social constructionist ideas. The social environment is already meaningful as the individual, who is part of that environment, takes in the information about it. The individual and the environment are in mutual interdependence: "there cannot be social structures without human agency, or human agency without social structures" (Still 1996 p93).

In mutualism meanings exist outside the individual within society as they are social rather than individual phenomena. Language plays the key role here as "the words I utter in conversation have meaning not because of what goes on in my head, but because of the part they play in the human community to which I belong" (Still 1996 p93).

These two metatheories are describing very different ways of understanding the world, what is the relationship between them? Still (1996) offered four possibilities:

i) Contradictory - Rival explanations of the same thing, and both cannot be right;

ii) Supplementary - Explanations of different levels of social reality, and together they give a full description;

iii) Complementary - Though appearing incompatible, both metatheories are necessary for a full understanding. "In mutualism meanings arise historically, through human social activity, in cognitivism they are established as part of a causal chain by the moment by moment states of human brains or minds" (p95);

iv) Phenomenological - The starting point, of this approach, for all knowledge of the world is everyday experience, or what Husserl (1970) called the "life-world". Mutualism describes the meaning from the social interactions in the life-world, while cognitivism "attempts to describe the psychological or physiological structures necessary for participation in the life-world, and therefore for meaning to occur" (Still 1996 p96).

Another debate, briefly mentioned earlier, is that of realism and relativism. Realism is a metatheory characteristic of science, and it is a belief in the reality of what is perceived. There is a single universal standard for judging the truth of different viewpoints. It is possible to say that one view is correct and the other not.

It is "optimistic about the possibility of true knowledge of an independently existing real world" (Wetherell and Still 1996). In psychology, this means that the experimental approach is the way to establish the truth about the social world with its rigour and control.

Relativism is the complete opposite. This emphasises the "multiple nature of reality" and the construction involved: "in most human interaction 'realities' are the result of prolonged and intricate processes of construction and negotiation deeply embedded in culture" (Bruner 1990 pp24-25).

Though objects and events feel real, they are only known through the "human-made interpretations" argue relativists (Wetherell and Still 1996).

These two metatheories have been reconciled in "new realism" (Wetherell and Still 1996). For example, Bhaskar (1978) has distinguished between "transitive" and "intransitive objects of knowledge". The latter relates to physical objects and events that would continue irrelevant of the presence of humans: "If men ceased to exist sound would continue to travel and heavy bodies

fall to the earth in exactly the same way.." (p22). Realism, and thus science, are related to these objects. "Transitive objects of knowledge" describe events related to human existence, and can be linked to a relativist position.

CONCLUSION

The debate between scientific and non-scientific (or anti-scientific) psychologists could (or has already) led to separate psychologies. Social psychology, for example, is presented as having two historical strands, known as "Psychological Social Psychology" (experimental) and "Sociological Social Psychology" (non-experimental) (Hollway 2007a). This has led the BPS to work to encourage psychologists from differing traditions to come together in the "Dialogues Across Divisions" group (Manstead and Wetherell 2005).

But such debates and core differences in psychology, among other reasons, make it difficult to see psychology as a science.

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